#### 111TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

# H. RES. 208

Chronicling the efforts of United States and Coalition forces to bring freedom, safety, and security to Iraq and recognizing the importance of the "surge strategy" in completing that mission.

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 4, 2009

Mr. King of Iowa (for himself, Mr. McHugh, Mr. Pence, Mr. McCotter, Mr. Carter, Mr. Wilson of South Carolina, Mr. Franks of Arizona, Mr. Sam Johnson of Texas, Mr. Kline of Minnesota, Mr. Akin, Mr. Miller of Florida, Mr. Rogers of Alabama, Mr. Conaway, Mr. Wittman, Ms. Fallin, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Hensarling, Mr. Burgess, Mr. Cole, Mr. Gohmert, Mr. Shadegg, Mr. Pitts, Mrs. Schmidt, Mr. Gingrey of Georgia, Mr. Brady of Texas, Mr. Westmoreland, Mrs. Bachmann, Mr. Burton of Indiana, Mr. Radanovich, Mr. Lucas, Mr. Linder, Mr. McCaul, Ms. Foxx, Mr. Latta, Mr. Broun of Georgia, and Mrs. Lummis) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services, and in addition to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

## RESOLUTION

Chronicling the efforts of United States and Coalition forces to bring freedom, safety, and security to Iraq and recognizing the importance of the "surge strategy" in completing that mission.

Whereas, on October 11, 2002, the House of Representatives passed H.J. Res. 114, Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002, authorizing the

President to use military force to "defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq" and "to enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions against Iraq";

Whereas, on March 17, 2003, President George W. Bush gave Saddam Hussein and his sons, Uday and Qusay, an ultimatum to leave Iraq within 48 hours to avoid war;

Whereas in providing the rationale for this ultimatum, President Bush pointed to the universal consensus of intelligence gathered by the United States and other governments which concluded Iraq continued to develop, possess, and conceal weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them; the threat posed to the United States and other countries by the growing threat of chemical, biological or nuclear terrorist attacks launched by or in collusion with the Hussein regime; the failure of peaceful efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime; the unanimously approved United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441, which found that Iraq "has been and remains in material breach of its obligations under relevant including resolution 687, in particular resolutions, through Iraq's failure to cooperate with United Nations inspectors and the IAEA, and to complete the [disarmament] actions required under paragraphs 8 to 13 of resolution 687"; the Hussein regime's use of weapons of mass destruction against Iraq's neighbors and against Iraq's people; the regime's history of reckless aggression in the Middle East; the aid, training, and harbor the regime had given to terrorists, including operatives of Al Qaeda; the United States Congress' overwhelming vote on October 11, 2002, to support the use of force in Iraq; the need to disarm Saddam Hussein in order to diminish the terrorist and security threat to America and the world; and the United States of America's sovereign authority to use force in assuring its own national security;

Whereas, on March 19, 2003, after Saddam Hussein and his sons refused to leave Iraq, the United States led an international coalition military force in launching Operation Iraqi Freedom to disarm and topple the Hussein regime, bring freedom to the people of Iraq, and establish a democratic government in Iraq capable of defending and sustaining itself and acting as an ally in the War on Terror;

Whereas the Hussein regime was toppled on or about April 9, 2003;

Whereas a Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) was subsequently established in Iraq to provide governance and to facilitate the transition of Iraq into a democracy capable of providing its own internal security, sustaining itself, and acting as an ally in the War on Terror;

Whereas from March 19, 2003 to the present time, the United States and Coalition Forces from 39 countries have engaged many enemies on the battlefields of Iraq, including the "Fedayeen Saddam" and other militias loyal to Saddam and the Baathist resistance; various localized Sunni militias providing protection to certain Sunni neighborhoods and population groups; terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda in Iraq; Shiite militias, including Moqtada Al Sadr's Mahdi Army; Shiite vigilante groups acting much like their Sunni counterparts; Iranian supported Shiite groups, including the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq's Badr Corps; and members of, as well as forces trained and supplied by,

the Qods Force of Iran's Revolutionary Guard and other Iranian agents;

- Whereas, on December 28, 2004, Al Qaeda released an audio message from Osama Bin Laden in which he stated, "The most important and serious issue today for the world is this Third World War . . . . It is raging in the land of the two rivers [Iraq]. The world's millstone and pillar is in Baghdad, the capital of the caliphate." He said "the whole world is watching this war," and it will end in "victory and glory or misery and humiliation.";
- Whereas by December 2006, the security situation in Iraq had severely deteriorated largely as the result of increased Sunni-Shiite sectarian violence sparked by the February 22, 2006, bombing by Al Qaeda in Iraq of the Askariya Shitte mosque in Samarra and fueled by the many violent acts that followed which were perpetrated by Al Qaeda in Iraq and the various other sectarian and political enemy groups competing for power and attempting to defeat United States and coalition forces in Iraq;
- Whereas in their report, The Way Forward—A New Approach, the members of the Iraq Study Group stated they could "support a short-term redeployment or surge of American combat forces to stabilize Baghdad, or to speed up the training and equipping mission, if the United States commander in Iraq determines that such steps would be effective";
- Whereas as a result of the deteriorating security situation in Iraq, President Bush announced "A New Way Forward", on January 10, 2007, which called for a surge of 28,500 American troops into Iraq to execute new counter insurgency strategies, as outlined in FM 3–24 Counterinsur-

gency, under the command of that document's principal author, General David Petraeus;

Whereas President Bush showed great leadership, judgment, and fortitude as commander in chief in ordering the adoption of the "surge strategy", despite being counseled by some of his top military advisors not to pursue the troop build up;

Whereas the goal of the "surge strategy" was to increase the size of the American military force on the ground in Iraq to secure the Iraqi population by killing or capturing the terrorists and militia who had unleashed the destructive wave of violence in Iraq since 2006, and to move American forces into Iraqi neighborhoods to partner with Iraqi civilians and security forces in clearing those neighborhoods of enemy forces and maintaining security control to hold those areas once cleared;

Whereas President Bush and General Petraeus, among others, believed that by increasing the size of the American force in Iraq and following the counter-insurgency tactics developed in FM 3–24 Counterinsurgency, United States and Coalition forces, working with Iraqi Security Forces, could bring safety and security to the Iraqi people; provide the time necessary to train and equip Iraqi Security Forces, of which there are now more than 613,000; and provide the Iraqi Government with the stable security environment needed to bring about the reconciliation necessary to establish that government's relevance and authority throughout the country;

Whereas one of the first signs of the success of the "surge strategy" was the development of the Sunni "Awakening," in which Sunni tribal leaders in Anbar Province responded to, and allied themselves with, United States

- military and Coalition forces in turning against Al Qaeda in Iraq;
- Whereas some of the most dangerous streets in the world have become peaceful centers of commerce;
- Whereas Anbar Province, where Marines have been stationed throughout much of the war and which was once one of the most dangerous parts of Iraq, has been pacified to the point at which on January 23, 2009, General James Conway, the Commandant of the United States Marine Corps, explained that the combat portion of the Iraq war is effectively over, stating "The time is right for Marines in general terms to leave Iraq.";
- Whereas the mayor of Fallujah has declared the city to be a "city of peace";
- Whereas since implementing the President's "surge strategy" in Iraq, civilian deaths have dropped by more than 90 percent since December 2006, to levels not seen since 2004;
- Whereas President Bush's adoption of the "surge strategy" has made Iraq a safer place for American troops;
- Whereas since July 1, 2008, more American troops in Iraq have been killed in accidents than by the enemy;
- Whereas the surge strategy has delivered a significant defeat to the terrorist and militia organizations that once controlled vast areas of Iraq and were responsible for the formerly high levels of violence in Iraq;
- Whereas, on May 25, 2008, Ryan Crocker, the United States Ambassador to Iraq, stated that Al Qaeda in Iraq "has never been closer to defeat" and on July 25, 2008, said that the Sunni insurgency, writ large, is "not much of a challenge any more" to Iraq's future;

- Whereas ethno-sectarian violence has diminished significantly, falling 98 percent from its highest monthly death toll of 2,086, recorded for December of 2006;
- Whereas the security of the International Zone in Baghdad (the Green Zone) was transferred to the Iraqi Security Forces on January 1, 2009;
- Whereas 13 of Iraq's 18 provinces are now entirely the responsibility and under the control of Iraqi Security Forces;
- Whereas the self-evident fact that al Qaeda in Iraq has been defeated as a military force, a fact that has become clear over the past year, beginning with statements made by Abu-Tariq, a local Al Qaeda leader near Balad, in a letter captured by American forces in early 2008. In the letter, Abu-Tariq states that as a result of the Sunni Awakening that followed the implementation of the "surge strategy", "The Americans and the apostates launched their campaigns against us and we found ourselves in a circle not being able to move, organize or conduct our operations . . . This created weakness and psychological defeat. This also created panic, fear and the unwillingness to fight. The morale of the fighters went down . . . . There was a total collapse in the security structure of the organization.";
- Whereas 17 of the 18 benchmarks, established by Congress and signed into law on May 25, 2007, by President Bush as part of H.R. 2206, the United States Troop Readiness, Veterans' Care, Katrina Recovery, and Iraq Accountability Appropriations Act, 2007, to provide for an objective analysis of progress toward reconciliation and self-governance by the Iraqi Government have been sub-

- stantially or completely met since the "surge strategy" was adopted;
- Whereas one of the most important benchmarks was recently met when new provincial elections were held successfully in Iraq on January 31, 2009;
- Whereas the final unmet benchmark, increasing Iraqi Security Force units' capability of operating independently, requires a continued United States presence to ensure full attainment in the future;
- Whereas, on February 4, 2009, Ambassador Ryan Crocker stressed the importance of a continued United States presence in Iraq when he said "Iraq's development will be a long-term project, requiring the long-term strategic commitment of the United States";
- Whereas there have been two legitimate, nationwide elections in Iraq on January 30, 2005, and on December 15, 2005;
- Whereas the Iraqis, on October 15, 2005, by popular vote, ratified their constitution, which establishes the Rule of Law in Iraq; and
- Whereas the "surge strategy" has ushered in a level of safety and security in Iraq such that the United States and the Government of Iraq were able to sign a Status of Forces Agreement on November 17, 2008, and which took effect on January 1, 2009, that continues the transfer of security responsibilities within Iraq to Iraqi forces and provides for the withdrawal of United States forces from Iraq in 36 months by the end of 2011: Now, therefore, be it
  - 1 Resolved, That—

(1) it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the surge strategy articulated by President Bush as part of A New Way Forward has succeeded in providing security and stability to the Iraqi people, addressing the threat posed to the Government of Iraq and the continued existence of a unified and independent country of Iraq by terrorist organizations and sectarian militias, and facilitating the opportunity for the Government of Iraq to make the decisions necessary for national reconciliation and governance to occur; and

#### (2) the House of Representatives—

- (A) recognizes the enormous sacrifices made by the men and women of the United States and Coalition forces from 39 countries to secure the successes gained in Iraq and thanks these heroes for their courage, nobility, and sacrifice to defend freedom and defeat our enemies;
- (B) extends its gratitude to all those within the military and civilian departments and agencies of the United States Government responsible for directing the implementation of the "surge strategy," including General David Petraeus and Ambassador Ryan Crocker;

(C) recognizes the importance and sign	ifi-
cance of victory in the Iraqi theater of the la	rg-
er, global struggle against radical, Islan	nic
Jihadist terrorists; and	

(D) commits itself to working with President Obama and his administration to continue the progress that has been made on the ground in Iraq since the "surge strategy" was implemented, recognizing that a definable victory has been achieved in Iraq and that history will judge President Bush's successor by his ability to maintain his predecessor's victory.

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